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CONDITION

OF THE

PEOPLE OF COLOR

IN THE

STATE OF OHIO.

WITH

INTERESTING ANECDOTES.

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The Committee to whom was referred the Condition of the People of Color in this State, presented the following REPORT :

That it is impossible, from the limited materials which we have been able to collect, to present to this Convention a satisfactory view of the condition of this people as a whole; but we have been able to obtain a very full account of their circumstances in Cincinnati, and in Brown county; and as these united, are believed to constitute nearly one half of the colored people in the State, and moreover, as among them are found all the circumstances which can be supposed to modify their social, moral, and intellectual character, we think we may with confidence adopt the information respecting *these*, as the basis of our opinions respecting the whole class.

The estimate which we make of the number of colored people in this State is only an approximation to the truth. We set down their number at 7,500, of whom one-third, or 2,500, are in Cincinnati; 700 in two settlements in Brown county; and the remaining 4,300 scattered in the principal towns in this State.

A majority of the adults it is supposed were born in slavery. Many of them have gained their freedom by paying for themselves the market value.

The statement of the fact that they were so born and trained, will serve instead of a volume, to inform this Convention what must be their condition. As a class we find them ignorant—many of them intemperate and vicious. Intemperance, gaming, and lewdness are the vices prevalent among them where they are located near the navigable waters and great thoroughfares of commerce.

In order to determine their relative condition when compared with white people, we need a standard which does not exist. We must find a class of citizens who, like them, have been systematically deprived of instruction in science—who have been denied the protection of law, debarred the pursuit of lucrative employment—who have never felt the magnet influence which a hope of elevation in society exerts in others, drawing them out to effort in the field of honorable emulation. But as we have no such class among us, we must compare them with the lowest class of our white population; if we could select from our white population those who have been abandoned of their parents to the influence of every vile example, and left to the unrestrained pursuit of every vile indulgence, still we should have a class who were more eligibly circumstanced than the colored people. Great injustice is done them by comparing them with the whole community, and pronouncing a condemnation upon them as vicious and degraded, beyond remedy, from the data thus unfairly gained.

There are some peculiarities about the colored people which we think it proper to notice. They endure with more patience the scorn and wrong under which they are pressed down—are more grateful for the favors which they receive—more tractable than persons of like information and intelligence among the whites. In addition to this, we have inquired, and do not know of an exception to this remark,—they are all anxious to have their children taught and to learn themselves, and are willing to pay for instruction.

They have churches of their own in several places, Cincinnati, Chillicothe, Zanesville, Stark, and Brown counties.

We regret that instead of seeking to gain freeholds, and depending upon farming for a subsistence, they congregate in towns and become day-laborers, barbers, and menial servants.

The cause of temperance has lately made encouraging progress among them, though its influence by no means predominates. In a settlement in Stark county, where there are three hundred colored people, mostly farmers, twenty men own farms of from twenty to thirty acres each—they have a meeting-house and school-house, and abstain, with few exceptions, from intoxicating drinks. The information which we have gained concerning this settlement, shows them to be most orderly and exemplary citizens.

Sixteen years ago, Mr. Guess, an English gentleman, released by will a large family of slaves, concerning whom Gov. Trimble, then in Virginia, wrote to his friends in Ohio, 'that the most vicious and degraded family of blacks in Virginia were coming to reside among them,' and provided land for them in Brown county. Their location is known by the designation, 'The Camps,' upper and lower; they now number 700. A school has been sustained for eight months in the upper settlement, and is now suspended for lack of funds. The success was encouraging. A temperance society exists among them of thirty members.

The heads of families have all been slaves. Their land is poor and wet, and holds out no inducement to cultivate it. Consequently the young men and women seek employment in steamboats, where they contract bad habits, and returning, exert an influence to vitiate the the morals of their settlement. These settlements, even in their degradation, furnish evidence that little fear is to be entertained on the score of amalgamation, where law protects chastity. In the sixteen years since their settlement, only two mulatto children have been born among this population.

The laws of the State, beside many other injurious discriminations, shut them out from the school fund, and hedge up their way to those more lucrative and mental employments which are open to others. 1*

Notwithstanding this, we find among this people, a latent intellect, not a whit behind that of white citizens, a docility and readiness to be benefited which invites effort in their behalf, and a state of morals, discouraging indeed to those who look to mere human agency to correct and elevate ; but full of the highest stimulus to those whose confidence is in God and the power of his gospel.

The Anti-Slavery Society, late of Lane Seminary, appointed a Committee in March last, to inquire into the condition of the colored people of Cincinnati. For the following statement, exhibiting the result of their investigation, we are indebted to them. Mr. Wattles, whose personal examination secured the facts here stated, is the superintendent of the colored schools in that city.

Statement in regard to Cincinnati. — In the spring of 1829, an effort was made to enlist the citizens of Cincinnati in the plan of removing the free people of color from the United States. This effort was vigorous and protracted. Whatever were the *motives* which prompted the effort, its particular *effect* was to excite the powerful against the weak, to countenance the lowest class of whites in persecuting the victims of public scorn and contempt.

The township trustees issued a *proclamation* that every colored man who did not fulfill the requirements of the law, in thirty days should leave the city. The law here referred to had lain a dead letter since it passed the Ohio Legislature, in 1807. It provided, that every negro or mulatto person should enter into bonds with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of \$500, conditioned for the good behavior and support of such negro or mulatto person, if they should be found in the State unable to support themselves. It also made it the duty of the overseers of the poor, to remove all such persons as did not comply with the above laws, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers.

Another section of the same law provided that any person who should employ, harbor or conceal any such negro or mulatto person, should for every such offence,

forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, and be liable for their maintenance and support should they ever be unable to support themselves. This proclamation was fully sustained and urged into execution by the public sentiment of the city. The colored people immediately held a meeting to consider what should be done. They petitioned the city authorities for permission to remain thirty days longer, and forthwith sent a committee to Canada to see what provisions could be made for them there. The sixty days expired before their return.

The populace finding that few, if any, gave security, and seeing no movement made, became exasperated, and determined to expel them by force. For three nights the fury of the mob was let loose upon them. They applied in vain to the city authorities for protection. Despairing of succor from the whites, they barricaded their houses and defended themselves. Some of their assailants were killed, and the mob at last retired.

The deputation to Canada returned with a favorable answer. The reply of Sir James Colebrook, Governor of Upper Canada, is characteristic of a noble-minded man. 'Tell the Republicans,' said he, 'on your side of the line, that we royalists do not know *men* by their color. Should you come to us, you will be entitled to all the privileges of the rest of his Majesty's subjects.'

On the receipt of this grateful intelligence a large number removed to Canada, and formed what is called the Wilberforce Settlement. It cannot be ascertained, definitely, how many went to Canada. But, one of the two men who took the census a short time previous to the excitement, states, that the colored people numbered 2200. About three years after, the same gentleman assisted in taking the census again, when they numbered only 1100. 'This,' he added, 'is not guess-work, but matter of fact.'

The wrongs suffered by those who remained behind either from inability to remove, or other causes, cannot well be imagined. The mechanical associations combined against them. Public schools were closed by law,

and prejudice excluded them entirely from such as were selected. A general desire among the white population that they should remove to Liberia, or elsewhere, rendered the operation of these laws too effective. They were by no means a dead letter. One or two facts will be sufficient.

A respectable master mechanic stated to us, a few days since, that, in 1830, the president of the Mechanical Association was publicly tried by the Society for the crime of assisting a colored young man to learn a trade. Such was the feeling among the mechanics, that no colored boy could learn a trade or colored journeyman find employment. A young man of our acquaintance, of unexceptionable character and an excellent workman, purchased his freedom and learned the cabinet making business in Kentucky. On coming to this city, he was refused work by every person to whom he applied. At last he found a shop carried on by an Englishman, who agreed to employ him — but on entering the shop, the workmen threw down their tools, and declared that he should leave or they would. *'They would never work with a nigger.'* The unfortunate youth was accordingly dismissed. In this extremity, having spent his last cent, he found a slaveholder who gave him employment in an iron store as a common laborer. Here he remained two years, when the gentleman finding he was a mechanic, exerted his influence and procured work for him as a rough carpenter. This man by dint of perseverance and industry has now become a master workman, employing at times six or eight journeyman. But he tells us he has not yet received a single job of work from a native born citizen of a free State. This oppression of the mechanics still continues. One of the boys of our school last summer, sought in vain for a place in this city to learn a trade. In hopes of better success, his brother went with him to New-Orleans, when he readily found a situation. Multitudes of common laborers at the time alluded to above were immediately turned out of employment, and many have told us that they were compelled to resort to dishonorable occupa-

tions or starve. One fact: a clergyman told one of his laborers, who was also a member of his church, that he could employ him no longer, for the laws forbade it. The poor man went out and sought employment elsewhere to keep his family from starving, but he sought in vain, and returned in despair to his minister to ask his advice. The only reply he received was, I cannot help you, you must go to Liberia.

This combined oppression of public sentiment and law reduced the colored people to extreme misery. No colored man could be a drayman or porter without subjecting his employer to a heavy penalty, and few employers had the courage or disposition to risk its infliction. Many families, as we *know*, have for years been supported by the mothers or female part of the family. This they have done by going out at washing, or performing other drudgery which no one else could be procured to do.

The schools, both common and select, remain shut against them to the present day, although they have always paid their full proportion of taxes for all public objects.* A short time since, it was discovered by a master of the common school, a presbyterian elder, that three or four children who attended had a colored woman for a mother. Although the complexion of these children is such that no one could distinguish them amongst a company of whites, they were told that they could not stay in school, and were sent home to their parents.

The law not only placed the colored population in a situation where they must remain in ignorance and deprived them of the means of procuring an honest living, but it went still further, and took from them their oath in courts of justice in any case where a white person was one of the parties. Thus they were placed by law at the mercy of their cruel persecutors. A few cases have accidentally fallen under our own observation. Last spring a colored man had his house broken into and property to

* In the new city charter obtained in 1834, a provision is made that the colored people shall receive the amount of their school taxes in tuition. But as yet, so far as our knowledge extends, they have received no benefit from this provision.

a considerable amount stolen. The evidence was entirely conclusive, as one of the thieves turned State's evidence, and confessed the whole. At the court, one of the pleas put in by the counsel was that neither the oath of the man nor that of his family could be taken to prove the property to be his. The jury returned a verdict of *not guilty*, and the robbers were cleared.

At the same court a white man was arraigned for murdering a colored man. The case was a plain one, — eight or ten men who were standing near, saw the murder. Only two of them, however, were white. On the day of trial one of the white men could not be found. The testimony of the other was received, while that of the colored men, though equally respectable, was refused. As it was a capital crime, where two witnesses were necessary, the murderer escaped unpunished. Subject to such disabilities, is it strange that this population should be ignorant and degraded? especially when we remember that nearly one half of them were formerly in bondage? They have grown up under its blighting influences. The charge is *true, they are a degraded people*. But this charge, true as it is, should not make them objects of contempt. It is the proof that they have *minds* and are susceptible of moral influence. We wonder, as we sometimes sit and listen to their tale of sufferings and of woe, that black despair has not entirely palsied every energy. To those acquainted with the system of slavery, it is known that not only law but even brute force is frequently exerted to prevent the dawn of intellect. Said a colored woman to us the other day, "When I was little, I used to long to read. After prayers, master would often leave the bible and hymn book on the stand, and I would sometimes open them to see if the letters would not tell me something. When he came and caught me looking in them, he would always strike me and sometimes knock me down."

In September, 1832, a Sunday school was collected which now numbers 125 scholars; soon after a lyceum was established, where up to the present time, lectures on scientific and literary subjects have been delivered twice a

week, to an audience of from 150 to 300 persons. A library of about 100 volumes was collected, which, however, from the inability of the people to read, has as yet been but little used. Arrangements were made for a school, but was delayed for some time by the difficulty of procuring a house for such a purpose. At length, a small tenement was rented of a colored man, and the school commenced on the first of March, 1834. When this school was opened, it was immediately crowded to overflowing with children and adults. The house not being large enough to contain them, sixty small children were admitted at 9 o'clock in the morning. After reading and spelling around, they were dismissed, and the house was filled again by the larger and grown persons, who went through the same exercises. These classes returned in the afternoon in the same order, and again recited lessons in reading and spelling. At this time, probably one half of them, old and young, did not know their letters.

The clamor of the adults for admittance made it necessary to open an evening school for their benefit. This was held three evenings in a week, and fully attended. Five or six individuals engaged in teaching each evening. This evening school, when the students left the Lane Seminary, was discontinued for want of teachers.

In consequence of the crowd at the day school, another house and teacher were procured and the school divided.

At the beginning of the second quarter another division was made, and two additional schools commenced, one for young ladies and the other for the small children. These two last are taught by ladies. The four schools above described are still in operation, numbering at present 250 pupils, and exhibiting, so far as we can discover, the same eagerness to learn as when they first commenced. Two teachers are engaged in the young ladies' school, and two in the school for small children; all of them are females. The young ladies who are engaged in these schools are all of them thoroughly qualified to fill any department of female instruction. Just before they devoted themselves to this work, two of them were urgently

solicited to take charge of a female seminary of high character in Tennessee, with an offer to each of five hundred dollars a year. This offer was renewed with importunity after their arrival in Cincinnati, but they again declined it, choosing rather to instruct the despised, the oppressed, and forsaken, sharing with them the burden of their woes.

In the ladies' school, which now numbers about eighty scholars, work has been introduced: and nearly all are now employed two hours a day in various kinds of needle work. This was found to be a necessary part of their education, as before they had known how to do little else than the most laborious kind of house-work.

In regard to the improvement of these schools, our expectations have been more than realized. The uniform testimony of the teachers in regard to their pupils is, that they have never seen their superiors, although they have taught years in other places. Individuals who have visited the schools have expressed much surprise at the mental activity and rapid advancement which they have discovered.* A few specific facts here, may not be out

* Extract of a letter from Mr. F. A. Sayre, for nine years a teacher of one of the public schools in Cincinnati.

"Facts have been developed in the progress of the day schools and Sunday schools here, which have made me believe that the colored people are not only equal to white people, in natural capacity to be taught, but that they exceed them—they do not receive instruction, they seize it as a person who has been long famishing for food, seizes the smallest crumb.

"I several times visited the different schools for colored children, and have always been gratified to observe the good order and attention to study which the pupils manifest, and, particularly, with the affection with which they regard their teachers. I have, however, known more particularly the school for boys which brother W. teaches; there I have seen boys of from nine to twelve years of age, who had learned the alphabet within a year, who were able to exhibit to advantage in reading and spelling, to write legibly, to recite long lessons in history, which they had been a short time studying, and to undergo an examination in arithmetic, which, when I first witnessed it, perfectly astonished me. I have taught common schools for about fifteen years at intervals, and have visited many taught by others, and I must candidly say, that I have never been acquainted with one which, for rapid progress in the different studies pursued, and for the interest manifested by the pupils, could be compared with this, nor have I ever seen so much good feeling in the intercourse of teacher and pupils."

of place. Rhoda Carr, a girl who had been a slave, and who had purchased her freedom, having in some way heard of our schools, came five hundred miles that she might attend them. She entered not knowing her letters—in four weeks her reading book was the Testament. Priestly, a boy aged ten, learned his letters in four days. He commenced last June, and is now a good reader, and well advanced in arithmetic. Charles, another boy ten years old, at the second quarter had gone through Ray's arithmetic, and could do any sum which the book contained. The children generally of eight and ten years of age, who commenced with their letters, can now spell anywhere in the spelling book. Fifty are now attending to geography, thirty to English grammar, forty to arithmetic, and twelve to history, some of whom are well advanced. True, some who attend our schools are stupid and dull, as is the case with every collection of children; but with the majority, the fact is far otherwise. Sixty or eighty lines in history are frequently repeated for a morning lesson with perfect accuracy; and on inquiring of the boys how long they sat up last night, the reply with some is, "till ten, eleven, or twelve o'clock," and with others, "till we burned the candle out."

The remembrance of friends still in bondage, presses heavily on their hearts. It is even with the small children a powerful stimulus to effort. In order to show clearly the character of this influence, it may not be out of place to permit the children to speak for themselves. Not long since, the pupils were requested to write compositions. As this was new business, they inquired what they were to write about? The answer was,

"What you think *most* about."

The following are specimens of the compositions:

1st. Dear school-mates, we are going next summer to buy a farm and to work part of the day and to study the other part if we live to see it and come home part of the day to see our mothers and sisters and cousins if we are got any and see our kind folks and to be good boys and

when we get a man to get the poor slaves from bondage. And I am sorrow to hear that the boat of Tiskilwa went down with two hundred poor slaves from up the river. Oh how sorrow I am to hear that, it grieves my soul so that I could faint in one minute.

— — —, aged seven years.

2d. In my youthful days dear Lord, let me remember my creator, Lord. Teach me to do his will. Bless the cause of abolition—bless the heralds of the truth that we trust God has sent out to declare the rights of man. We trust that it may be the means of moving mountains of sin off all the families. My mother and stepfather, my sister and myself we were all born in slavery. The Lord did let the oppressed go free. Roll on the happy period that all nations shall know the Lord. We thank him for his many blessings.

— — —, aged eleven years.

3d. Let us look back and see the state in which the Britons and Saxons and Germans lived. They had no learning and had not a knowledge of letters. But now look, some of them are our first men. Look at king Alfred and see what a great man he was. He at one time did not know his a, b, c, but before his death he commanded armies and nations. He was never discouraged but always looked forward and studied the harder. I think if the colored people study like king Alfred, they will soon do away the evil of slavery. I can't see how the Americans can call this a land of freedom where so much slavery is.

— — —, aged sixteen years.

These compositions with others were handed to the teacher, who put them in his pocket, without any thought of preserving them or showing them to any one.—When it was thought best to insert them here, he took them from his pocket without any selection, and wrote them just in the order they came to hand. They are a fair transcript of our pupils' hearts. It is not strange

that the subject of slavery should so deeply affect them, when it is remembered that nearly all, who attend our schools, have friends now in bondage. Some have a father or a mother—some brothers and sisters, and others have dear children, whom they have left at the mercy of the task-master. They know their woes from sad experience. They think of their sufferings, they listen to their groans, and they feel. Again and again as the slave has been mentioned, have we heard from one and another the heavy groan,—have seen the heaving bosom and the trickling tear, and teacher and pupil have wept together. We *know* on this subject what cannot be expressed in *words*.

Those who have friends in slavery, live in continual dread and anxiety, lest they should be sold and taken down the river. This solicitude, either like a canker preys upon their energies, gnaws away the springs of human effort, or if their minds are of that stern material that will give up the ghost sooner than yield, it operates as a continual goad, and urges them on to efforts almost superhuman. It is common for boats loaded with slaves to stop at Cincinnati, and it frequently happens that the friends and relations of the pupils are in chains on board. A few days since, a colored man came into one of the schools and said, he believed there was some person present who had friends on board a boat going down the river. On mentioning the names of their owners, a woman on the farther side of the house immediately exclaimed, 'Oh, they've come,' and fell senseless. A friend who sat near, caught her in her arms, and for some time she lay apparently lifeless. Then at intervals a deep groan would burst from her agonized bosom. When she revived, a flood of tears came to her relief. 'I *must* see them,' said she, — and hardly able to support herself, she left the house. 'These farewell scenes are worse than funerals, — they cannot be described,' — said a man to us a few days since, whose children had been sent down the river, — 'I'd rather have seen them die — it broke my heart.' The expression is common, that they had rather hear that their friends are dead, than that they are sold down the river.

Probably three-fourths of the whole number now in the schools are either now slaves, have been slaves, or are the children of slave parents. Those who are now in slavery, have obtained permission from their masters to come to a free State to work out their freedom. They are very anxious to learn, and when they cannot find work, come into school. One man, about thirty-five years, is very patiently trying to learn his letters ; but says he can't come when he can get work. He is to pay his master, in Kentucky, \$700. Twenty of which, within a few weeks, he has earned and paid over. Another, a pious widow, aged 60, is making the same effort. She says, if she can only get so as to read in the testament, she will be satisfied. By her efforts at washing she has paid \$50 to her master, but has yet one hundred more to pay. Doubtless she will sink into the grave before her task is accomplished.

Calling upon a family not long since, whose children did not come to school very regularly, we found the father and mother were out at work. On saying to the eldest child, aged about ten years, 'why don't you come to school, my girl?' she replied — 'I'm staying at home to help buy father.'

As this family attend the sabbath school, we will state some particulars respecting them to illustrate a general fact. Their history is by no means a remarkable one. Conversing with them one day, they remarked, 'We have been wonderfully blessed ; not one in a hundred is treated so well as we have been.' A few years since, the mother an amiable woman, intelligent, pious, and beloved by all who knew her, was emancipated. But she lived in continual dread lest her husband who was still a slave, should be sold and separated from her forever. After much painful solicitation, his master permitted him to come to Cincinnati, to work out his freedom. Although under no obligation, except his verbal promise, he is now, besides supporting a sickly family, saving from his daily wages the means of paying the price of his body. The money is sent to a nephew of his master, who is now studying for the ministry, in Miami University. The following is an

extract from the correspondence of this candidate for the ministry. It is addressed to this colored man.

‘MR. OVERTON :

Sir, I have an order on you for \$150, from your old master. It is in consideration of your dues to him for your freedom. I am in great want of the money, and have been for some time. I shall only ask you 10 per cent interest, although 12 is common. The money has been due two months. If you cannot pay it before the last of March, I shall have to return the order to Uncle Jo — for I cannot wait longer than that time. It must also run at 12 per cent interest henceforth. If you cannot pay it all, write to me and let me know when you can. Uncle Jo requests me to let him know when you would have any more money for him.

Yours, in haste.’

This is only one of a series of dunning letters which came every few weeks. Soon after the reception of this, Mr. Overton scraped together the pittance he had earned, and sent the young man \$100, with interest. And he is now going out at day’s work, and his wife, when able, is taking in washing, to pay the balance. They have two sons still in slavery. The mother, when emancipated, had the privilege of choosing masters for these children. She selected two men in whom she had confidence, and who were remarkable for their kindness to their slaves. They purchased the boys for \$200 each, promising the mother, that if she should ever procure the means she might redeem them at the same price. This, said she, was the last thing they said to me as I got into the stage to come away, while the children were clinging to me, and screaming to come along. The following is the copy of a letter she has just received from one of these men. It shows how coolly ‘kind masters’ can trifle with the feelings of an affectionate and anxious mother.

' STANTON, VA., March, 1835.

To Mrs. Rebecca Overton :

Yours of the 4th, I received on the 14th, and now answer your letter according to your request. You say you are anxious for your sons to be where you are, and a friend of yours is willing to advance the price I bought him at. I am not yet determined to sell. Mr. — says he will sell his boy, but must have for him \$300. The one I have you know is the youngest, but almost as large, and of the *two* I should prefer mine. Either of them, now, is capable of doing house work or taking care of a horse. Both of the boys are perfectly healthy, and at this time would hire for \$30 a year; and would be getting more valuable if they lived. The friend you speak of can get Mr. —'s at the same price, so he has just informed me. I do not feel disposed to part with mine, for I am well convinced I could not get one that would *suit me* better, or even as well, — but as it is for you, I might part with him; he is good disposed and his character good.'

On reading this letter to Mrs. Overton, she said, 'I see what he wants. He is willing to sell, but wants we should pay him the other \$10.' The following tantalizing postscript is appended to the letter :

'Your sons requested me to tell you, they are well, and should be glad to see you; and further they desire their love to their sisters and brothers, — and are anxious to live with you, or nearer than at present, *if it could be so ordered.*'

We have inserted this case thus at length, to show how all the social sympathies of these people have been mocked and their tenderest sensibilities outraged. Still we see them bearing up under these accumulated wrongs, and struggling onward with vigor truly astonishing.

One man has just finished paying for himself, wife and babe, \$650. For a little son who attends school

with him, 'I paid,' said he, 'a hundred silver dollars, when he was three years old.' He has done all this by rigid self-denial and persevering industry. For two children yet in bondage, one 9 and the other 11 years of age, he has offered \$450, but their owner refuses to sell. Another man in school, paid \$1000 in cash for his own body. A number of females have paid 200 and 300 dollars for themselves. They earned it entirely by their own efforts, principally by washing. These girls now go out at washing two days of the week, in order to support themselves in school the remainder of the time. More than thirty females are now getting their education and supporting themselves in this way. Mr. Ralls paid \$1130 for his wife and two daughters. They are all now constant attendants at school. We might go on in this way through our catalogue, but we forbear, lest we should be tedious. The above facts are sufficient, as a specimen, to show the material of which the schools are composed.

The people had long groped their way in darkness, and as long had prayed for light. But such a transition from the midnight of despair, to the sunlight of hope, was too much for some of them to bear. One pious mother was delirious with joy for more than a week, at the bright prospect for her children. Said she, 'many times I have lain awake all night, and prayed for just such things, but when they came, I could n't stand it.' One of the most intelligent and strong minded of the colored men, was absent from the city till in the summer, and had heard not a word of what was going on amongst the colored people. The first evening of his return, he attended one of the lectures. Said he, 'I was in a perfect maze, to see a man get up, and speak to a colored congregation on such subjects, — to hear such sentiments from white men, — to have them talk in such a way to *us*, — was too much for me to believe. I thought I was dreaming. I would jog my neighbor to see if I was awake ; take out my knife and cut the bench ; take up the shavings and pick them to pieces ; — and after all I couldn't convince myself that I was awake. I would come into the schools

during the day, — sit and look on till I was ready to burst into tears, — then get up and go out, and say to myself is this reality, or is it a dream? Am I really awake? No, it can't be true, — it is all a delusion. And thus I was several days.'

Said a woman, lately from Virginia, 'If we should go back and tell of our advantages, and how we have the white people to teach us, and how they treat us like brothers, — they could'nt believe us. There is a heap of people that wouldn't believe a word we said. We had no idea of it before we came. It is just like changing out of one world into another.'

The gratitude which at times flows out from their *full, warm* hearts, is rich in blessing, and lightens all our labors.

The schools have suffered no little inconvenience from not having suitable rooms. Two of them have been taught in churches, and two in private dwelling-houses. It is expected, however, that a house will be built this year, sufficiently large to accommodate two of the schools. The colored people have, according to their ability, contributed liberally to this object. They are also making an effort to pay, for the next year, a greater proportion of the expenses of the schools. The expenses for the past year have been \$929. Of this the colored people contributed \$250. The remainder was given by abolitionists, at the east, and elsewhere. 209 dollars of this sum has been expended for rent; 150 dollars for three temporary female teachers, and the remainder for books, fixtures, fuel, board of teachers, etc. In addition to the schools now in operation, another will commence on the first of June, for colored boatmen, and continue four months. Of this class of men, there are, during the summer, about 300, whose residence is in this city. As they are well known, and a majority of them active young men, their influence hitherto has been bad. Familiar, during eight months of the year, with all the vices of the river, it could not be expected that a four months' residence on the shore would mend their manners or their morals; especially when it is remembered that during the week,

grog-shops, brothels, and gambling-houses, have been the only places open for their reception. Aside from the common hardships of a boatman's life, this class of our citizens suffer severe persecutions by coming in constant contact with slave laws. As there is danger of making our report too long, we will state only one fact.

A colored woman of our acquaintance came up on a boat this morning, who had been down the river to get her husband out of jail. He was a boatman on the lower waters, and his family resided in this city. Some two or three months since, while taking in wood, his leg was severely injured. He spent all his money in paying board and doctors' bills. As it healed very slowly, he became discouraged, and attempted to get home. He procured a passage, promising to pay when he arrived in Cincinnati. But on getting up to the falls, at Louisville, the boat could not pass. He then left his free papers with the captain as security, and took passage on another boat. When they came for his passage money, he told them of his misfortunes and his poverty. His story was not credited, and they demanded his free papers. These, of course, he was unable to produce. He was accordingly set on shore, and thrust into a Kentucky jail. Here he remained four weeks, and would have been sold to pay the jail fees, had not he found means to send to his wife, who went immediately to his relief.

Great good may justly be anticipated from such a school. These boatmen traverse all our navigable waters: the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee, Kenhawa, Illinois, Wabash, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas, white, Red, Yazoo, and other rivers. If intelligent, industrious and sober, they would everywhere be letters of recommendation for all the colored people. Their influence, if directed aright, will tell powerfully, not only on the interests of the free colored man, but on the whole system of American oppression.

It is to be regretted that an accurate census of the colored population of Cincinnati, cannot be furnished. Such a census was commenced some months since, but owing to the pressure of other duties, has not been finished. It

is a work of considerable labor, as the people are scattered through all parts of the city, and large numbers of them are servants in white families. From the part gone over, we are able to form, as we believe, a tolerably accurate estimate of their numbers and general condition.

The number of colored people in Cincinnati, is about 2500. As illustrating their general condition, we will give the statistics of one or two small districts. The families in each, were visited from house to house, taking them all as far as we went :

Number of families in one of these districts,	26
“ of individuals,	125
“ of heads of families,	49
“ of heads of families who are professors of religion,	19
“ of children at school,	20
“ of heads of families who have been slaves,	39
“ of individuals who have been slaves,	95
Time since they obtained their freedom from 1 to 15 years, average 7 years.	
Number of individuals who have purchased themselves,	23
Whole amount paid for themselves,	\$9,112
Number of fathers and mothers still in slavery,	9
“ of children,	18
“ of brothers and sisters,	98
“ of newspapers taken,	0
“ of heads of families who can read,	2

Employment of Heads of Families.

Common laborers and porters,	7
Dealers in second-hand clothing,	1
Hucksters,	1
Carpenters,	2
Shoe-blacks,	6
Cooks and waiters,	11
Wash-women,	18

Five of these woman purchased themselves from slavery. One paid \$400 for herself, and has since bought a house and lot, worth \$600. All this she has done by washing.

Another individual had bargained for his wife and two children. Their master agreed to take \$420 for them. He succeeded at length in raising the money, which he carried to their owner. “I shall charge you \$30 more than when you was here before,” said the planter, “for your wife is in a family-way, and you may pay thirty

dollars for that or not take her, just as you please.”
 “And so,” said he, (patting the head of a little son three years old, who hung upon his knee,) “I had to pay thirty dollars for this little fellow, six months before he was born.”

Number of families in another district,	63
“ of individuals,	258
“ of heads of families,	106
“ of families who are professors of religion,	16
“ of heads of families at school,	53
“ of newspapers taken,	7
Amount of property in real estate,	\$9,850
Number of <i>individuals</i> who have been slaves,	108
“ of <i>heads of families</i> who have been slaves,	69
Age at which they obtained their freedom, from 3 mos. to 60 yrs. average 33 years.	
Time since they obtained their freedom, from 4 weeks to 27 years; average 9 years.	
Number of heads of families who have purchased themselves,	36
Whole amount paid for themselves,	\$21,515 00
Average price,	\$597 64
Number of children which the same families have already purchased,	14
Whole amount paid for these children,	\$2,425 75
Average price,	\$173 27
Total amount paid for these parents and children,	\$23,940 75
Number of parents still in slavery,	16
“ of husbands or wives,	7
“ of children,	35
“ of brothers and sisters,	144

These districts were visited without the least reference to their being exhibited separately. If they give a fair specimen of the whole population, (and we believe that to be a fact,) then we have the following results: 1,129 of the colored population of Cincinnati have been in slavery; 476 have purchased themselves at the total expense of \$215,522,04, averaging for each \$452,77; 163 parents are still in slavery; 68 husbands and wives; 346 children; 1,579 brothers and sisters.

There are a large number in the city who are now working out their own freedom,—their free papers being retained as security. One man of our acquaintance has just given his master seven notes of \$100 dollars each, one of which he intends to pay every year, till he has paid

them all ; his master promises then to give him his free papers. After paying for himself, he intends to buy his wife and then his children. Others are buying their husbands or wives, and others again their parents or children. To show that on this subject they have sympathies like other people, we will state a single fact. A young man, after purchasing himself, earned \$300. This sum he supposed was sufficient to purchase his aged mother, a widow, whom he had left in slavery five years before, in Virginia. Hearing that she was for sale, he started immediately to purchase her. But, after traveling 500 miles, and offering all his money, he was refused. Not because she was not for sale—nor because he did not offer her full value. She had four sons and daughters with her, and the planter thought he could do better to keep the family together and send them all down the river. In vain the affectionate son plead for his mother. The planter's heart was steel. He would not sell her, and with a heavy heart the young man returned to Cincinnati. He has since heard that they were sold in the New-Orleans market, "*in lots to suit purchasers.*"

In regard to the general character of this people, it is perhaps unnecessary to add anything to what has already been said. If we except the influence of uncommon persecution, that portion of them that were free born do not differ essentially from the colored population of other free States. Many families are in easy circumstances, and are well regulated. In some, the Sabbath is, emphatically, a day of rest ; all the cooking, and other work, having been done on Saturday. With regard to the majority, however, their domestic arrangements are loose, and family government very much neglected. In this respect, however, they are improving. The teachers, especially the females, make it a part of their duty to visit the families, and impart such domestic and religious instruction as they think will be profitable. That portion of them who were born in slavery, are generally from that class of slaves who are *best treated*. This we know from observation, and from their own testimony. Such as were emancipated, we find, on inquiring, were

usually favorite servants or they had masters who liberated them at their death ; and those who bought themselves, also had masters of a similar character. The permission to buy themselves, the slaves considered a great favor.

We mention these things to show that facts drawn from this portion of the colored population of Cincinnati, do not, by any means, give a partial and overwrought picture of slavery. All these people speak well of their masters, and say they were treated much better than those on other plantations. But *we* have often thought within ourselves when conversing with them—If these are the tender mercies of slavery, what are its cruelties ? One of the accursed influences of slavery, they have felt with a severity known only to favorite servants—we mean licentiousness. Many facts might be given on this subject ; but we forbear, for want of time fully to exhibit this, its most loathsome feature. These manumitted slaves are from all parts of the south, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee ; but principally from Kentucky and Virginia ; and we notice in these some of the peculiarities of each section.

A considerable number whom we know, were kidnapped, and are acquainted, by sad experience, with all the horrors of this internal traffic. We will mention a few cases :—Two sisters, who are now in our Sabbath school, and were free born, were stolen when young, together with three other sisters, and made slaves in Tennessee. After remaining in servitude more than thirty years, one of them was emancipated, and the other purchased herself by paying \$325. The other sisters are still in slavery, with twelve children. James Veech was kidnapped in Virginia,—kept in slavery in Tennessee twenty years, obtained his freedom by paying \$800. Ann, a young woman, aged twenty-two, was kidnapped about a year and a half ago, in Richmond, Virginia. Her mother is a widow, and was formerly a slave. She hired her time, paying her master forty dollars a year, and finally succeeded in purchasing herself and babe for \$880. She then commenced buying Ann. Urged on

by the fond hope of rescuing an affectionate daughter from the grasp of the slaveholder, she had already earned and paid over \$400. Ann was living at home, and there remained only \$150 to be paid. But the industrious mother had toiled in vain. Passing along the street one evening, Ann was seized by the slave traders and thrust immediately into jail. She says, "I never spent such a night as that was; more than 300 were already in jail, and a number of others were afterward brought in who were kidnapped the same evening. They were immediately chained together, and towards morning we were all taken on board the brig Tribune, Capt. Smith, bound for New Orleans. She had among her cargo, 15 persons whom they had kidnapped. This brig was owned by Ballard & Arnfield, of Richmond. I was sold in New Orleans. About two months afterwards I saw the same brig come in again with another cargo of 200 slaves. After staying in New Orleans about one year I obtained my freedom and came to Cincinnati."

A man who was born in Cincinnati, has just escaped from a servitude of twenty-six years. As he was uncommonly intelligent, he was often sold to prevent assistance from those who knew him. He started in February, when the ground was covered with snow and ice. These, for the first week, were his bed, and the pine trees his only covering. For three weeks he ate but one meal a day, and the third week this was only bread and water.

Mary Brown, another colored girl who was kidnapped in 1830, was the daughter of free parents in Washington city. She lived with her parents until the death of her mother; she was then seized and sold. The following are the facts as she stated them. One day, when near the Potomac bridge, Mr. Humphreys, the sheriff, overtook her, and told her that she must go with him.—She inquired of him what for? He made no reply, but told her to come along. He took her to a slave auction. Mary told Mr. Humphreys that she was free, but he contradicted her, and the sale went on. The auctioneer soon found a purchaser, and struck her off for three hundred and fifty dollars. Her master was a Mississippi trader, and

she was immediately taken to jail. After a few hours, Mary was handcuffed, — chained to a man slave, and started in a drove of about forty for New Orleans. The handcuffs made her wrists swell so that they were obliged to take them off at night, and put fetters on her ankles. In the morning the handcuffs were again put on. Thus they traveled for two weeks, wading rivers, and whipped up all day, and beaten at night if they did not get their distance. Mary says that she frequently waded rivers in her chains, with water up to her waist. It was in October, and the weather cold and frosty. After traveling thus twelve or fifteen days, her arms and ankles became so swollen that she felt that she could go no farther. Blisters would form on her feet as large as dollars, which at night she would have to open, while all day the shackles would cut into her lacerated wrists. They had no beds, and usually slept in barns, or out on the naked ground — was in such misery when she lay down that she could only lie and cry all night. Still they drove them on for another week. Her spirits became so depressed, and she grieved so much about leaving her friends, that she could not eat, and every time the trader caught her crying, he would beat her, accompanying it with dreadful curses. The trader would whip and curse any of them whom he found praying. One evening he caught one of the men at prayer—he took him, lashed him down to a parcel of rails, and beat him dreadfully. He told Mary that if he caught her praying, he would give her hell! (Mary was a member of the Methodist church in Washington.) There were a number of pious people in the company, and at night when the driver found them melancholy, and disposed to pray, he would have a fiddle brought, and make them dance in their chains. It mattered not how sad or weary they were—he would whip them until they *would* do it.

Mary at length became so weak that she could travel no farther. Her feeble frame was exhausted and sunk beneath her accumulated sufferings. She was seized with a burning fever, and the trader, fearing he should lose her, carried her the remainder of the way in a wagon.

When they arrived at Natchez, they were all offered for sale ; and as Mary was still sick, she begged that she might be sold to a kind master. She would sometimes make this request in presence of purchasers — but was always insulted for it ; and after they were gone the trader would punish her for such presumption. On one occasion he tied her up by her hands so that she could only touch the end of her toes to the floor. This was soon after breakfast ; he kept her thus suspended, whipping her at intervals through the day — at evening he took her down. She was so much bruised that she could not lie down for more than a week afterwards. He often beat and choked her for another purpose, until she was obliged to yield to his desires.

She was at length sold to a wealthy man of Vicksburg, at four hundred and fifty dollars, for a house servant. But he had another object in view. He compelled her to gratify his licentious passions, and had children by her. This was the occasion of much difficulty between him and his wife, and he has now sent her up to Cincinnati to be free.

We have no reason to doubt the account of Mary as given above. The person from whom we heard this, took it down from her own lips. Her manner of relating it was perfectly simple and artless, and is here written out almost verbatim. We have also the testimony of a number of individuals who knew her in Vicksburg ; they have no doubt of her integrity, and say that we may rely implicitly upon the truth of any statement which she may make.

Persons are occasionally kidnapped in this city. Two young men, members of our school, were stolen last fall, but were soon rescued. When found, they were in irons on board a steamboat. Other more aggravating cases might be mentioned.

The moral character and condition of this people is, we believe, rapidly improving. There are three churches — two Methodist and one Baptist, numbering in all about four hundred and fifty members. In these churches there is preaching every Sabbath to full congregations.

There are four Sabbath schools, with each a small library, and three Bible classes. These schools and classes are well attended by persons of all ages, and an uncommon desire to learn the truth of the Bible is manifested. A few, we hope, have recently been born again; and with many there appears to be an increasing solicitude about their eternal welfare. Male and female prayer meetings are held by all the churches. The female prayer meetings are always crowded, and full of interest. A female benevolent society was organized a few months since, consisting of forty members. Their meetings are held regularly, and the time spent in working for the poor. A society for the relief of persons in distress, called the "Cincinnati Union Society," has been in operation a number of years. It now numbers one hundred male members, and its yearly contributions are about two hundred and fifty dollars. Another society of a kindred character numbers about thirty. A temperance society on the principle of total abstinence was formed on the first of April. This was done after a course of lectures which were listened to by large audiences. At the two closing lectures one hundred and sixty-four pledged themselves to entire abstinence from all intoxicating liquors, including wine, cider, and all malt liquors, except on sacramental occasions, or when prescribed by a temperance physician, and also to do all in their power to prevent its use by others. Between that time and the organization of the society, the number increased to two hundred and twenty-five, and a few names have been added since. Great good is anticipated from the influence of this society. A number of confirmed drunkards have told us they were "trying it." The society will have regular monthly meetings, when an address will be delivered by one of its members.

The demeanor of the colored population towards the whites, so far as we can discover, is respectful to all; and to their particular friends, it is marked with those peculiar testimonials of gratitude and esteem, which we should find it difficult to express. We notice that in proportion as we visit them, and mingle in their society, they be-

come guarded and circumspect in all their demeanor, and as they become intelligent, they lose their relish for gaudy tinsel and display. They feel convinced that character is based on mental and moral worth. There are none who appreciate the advantages of education and morality so much as those who are best educated and most moral. After living with them a year, and associating on terms of perfect friendship and equality, we do not find on their part anything like an unpleasant familiarity; but on the other hand an increased sense of moral and intellectual distance. This to us is sometimes exceedingly painful. Said one of their most intelligent men to us the other day, "I feel as though I did not know anything, and never had done anything." They know how to appreciate favors from their friends, and at the same time they receive insults from their enemies with a patience known only to a people who have been long abused. While a majority feel pained and depressed at the cruel prejudice of the whites,—there are others—men of strong and independent minds—who either do not notice, or if they do, look down with utter contempt upon the narrow feeling which makes color the test of character.

The question is often asked, Can slaves, if liberated, take care of themselves? We cannot answer this question better than by pointing to the colored population of Cincinnati. It is amusing to see the curious look which an emancipated slave assumes, when he is asked this question. He seems at a loss to know whether he shall consider it a joke or an honest inquiry. "We did," they say, "take care of ourselves and our masters too, while in fetters. We dug our way out of slavery—and now that we are free, all we ask is a fair chance." We know of no class of men who are better qualified to take care of themselves if placed under proper influences. True, but few of those in Cincinnati are wealthy—but let it be remembered *their sympathies are with the slave*, and with all their disabilities they have within a few years poured into the coffers of the white man more than two hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of their freedom. Permit us to give a few more facts on this point, and we have done.

David Young, an emancipated slave, has bought his wife and six children. He paid for them \$1,265. He yet owes \$110 for the last child. This he expects to pay this summer.

Henry Boyd bought himself at the age of eighteen. He is now thirty-one, and is worth \$3,000. He has also bought a brother and sister, for whom he paid \$900.

Samuel Lewis, paid \$500 for himself before he was eighteen years old.

Rebecca Madison, paid \$1,800 for herself, and is now worth \$3,000.

William O'Hara, an emancipated slave, has been in this city eight years, and is now worth \$7,000.

Henry Blue paid for himself \$1,000, is now thirty-nine years of age, and is worth \$5,000. He attends school every day.

Richard Keys, for twelve years paid twenty dollars per month, for his time. He then paid \$850 for his freedom, amounting to \$3,739. This man when a slave, was what is called an unmanageable fellow. He was sold nine times. Says he never would be struck, — was not the least afraid to dirk or kill any man that abused him, — always kept a dirk about him. Supposes that in his various scuffles with overseers and others he had stabbed fifteen or twenty men. "But," said he, "it was not so when I got free." On inquiring why it was not so, he replied, "I was afraid of the law! Before, I did not care. I felt desperate, I knew I might as well die one way as another. But when I got free, my eyes came open, — then I knew where I was, — I felt like a man. The law was before me, and I was afraid of it!" Speaking of his last master, he said, "There is no man I love more than Mr. Lovell, this blessed day, for he was a kind master, though he kept me twelve years in slavery." Mr. Keys is now an exemplary member of the Baptist church.*

* We have examined the vouchers in all the cases here detailed, and are fully satisfied that there is no deception. The stories told by these persons are confirmed by receipts and cancelled notes, now in their possession.

His wife also bought herself. Her master was an orphan child. He was three months old when he came in possession of her, and she was his nurse when an infant. The guardian made her take care of herself and support the child. After the child left her, she was required to pay seventy dollars a year, twenty years, for his support, — boarded herself, bought all her clothes, paid her house rent, etc. She did the whole of this by washing, — now and then she could save a little money, — hoping she might, at some future day, redeem herself from bondage. “Many and many a night,” said she, “after washing all day, have I sat up and ironed all night.” Her husband says, as he came to visit her in the night, he has often found her thus at work. In this way she saved for herself a considerable sum every year, besides paying the seventy dollars per year to sustain her young master. When he became of age, she paid him what money she had, amounting to \$400. Her husband paid \$192 more, and she was liberated. Can slaves take care of themselves?

We have done, — although we have not given one tenth part of the facts in our possession. Those we have given, are not by any means extreme cases. We chose the medium, the better to illustrate the true character and condition of this interesting people.

Your Committee would conclude their Report by offering the following resolution :

That in view of the needy circumstances of our free colored citizens, the influence which their elevation and good deportment would exert against slavery, and the facility afforded for the introduction among them of education and religion, we earnestly commend this field to the charities of the good people of this State, as one in which their benevolence can be most efficiently expended.

AUGUSTUS WATTLES,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
JOHN W. ALVORD,		
SAMUEL WELLS,		
H. LYMAN,		
MARCUS R. ROBINSON.		

REPORT ON THE LAWS OF OHIO.

Gentlemen : your "Committee on the laws of Ohio," after having given them such a consideration as their time would admit, submit the following report :

Whatever may be the minor designs of government, its principal aim is to promote the happiness, and to secure the rights and liberties of man. While legislators keep these objects in view, it is the source of blessing, and sends life into every part of the political system. But when, unmindful of the true interest of the people, they use their power to curtail this liberty, and to banish this happiness, they make it the instrument of oppression, and the scourge of every community.

The government under which we live was formed upon the broad and universal principle of equal and unalienable rights ; principles which were proclaimed at its first formation, which were incorporated into the compact under which our own state claims a right of membership in the Union.

Notwithstanding all this, *it is a fact*, that the great and fundamental principles of our government have been violated by enactments framed under the ostensible authority of this compact, which are entirely inconsistent with and subversive of the spirit which they breathe. These enactments are the more unjust from their being designed for the exclusive oppression of a weak and defenceless class of our fellow citizens, — a class convicted of no crime — no natural inferiority — no conspiracy against our political and religious institutions, demanding their exclusion from the rights and privileges of citizenship.

Amongst the statutes of Ohio, recorded on the 25th of January, 1807, and which has been in force until the present time, we find the following act. "*Be it enacted*, That no negro or mulatto person shall be permitted to

emigrate into, and settle within this state, unless such negro or mulatto person shall, within twenty days thereafter, enter into a bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, before the clerk of the court of common pleas, in which such negro or mulatto may wish to reside (to be approved of by the clerk,) conditioned for the good behavior of such negro or mulatto person, — and moreover, to pay for support of such persons, in case he, she, or they should hereafter be found within any township of this state, unable to support themselves; and if any negro or mulatto person shall migrate into this state, and not comply with the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the overseers of the poor, of such township, where such negro or mulatto person may be found, to remove immediately such black or mulatto person, in the same manner as is required in the case of paupers."

The 3d. Section declares, "That if any person, being a resident of this State, shall employ, harbor, or conceal any such negro or mulatto person aforesaid, contrary to the provisions of the first section of this act; any person shall forfeit and pay for every such offence a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, the one half to the informer and the other half to the use of the poor in the township where such person may reside, to be recovered by an action of debt, before any court having competent jurisdiction; and moreover, be liable for the maintenance and support of such negro or mulatto, provided he, she, or they, shall become unable to support themselves."

"Sect. 4. That no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be permitted to be sworn or give evidence in any court of record or elsewhere in this State, in any cause depending, or matter of controversy, when either party to the same is a white person; or in any prosecution which shall be instituted in behalf of the State against any white person."

No individual, however much his mind may be swayed by prejudice and passion, can fail to perceive that the above statutory restrictions upon the colored population of Ohio, are arbitrary and unjust, and opposed to principles

contained in our state constitution, as expressed in Sec. 1st. Art. 8th, in these words: "We declare that **ALL** are born *free and independent*, and have certain natural, inherent, unalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, *acquiring, possessing, and protecting property*, and *pursuing and attaining happiness and safety*. What a contrast between our constitution and our statutes! Is it a mark of this *liberty* which is blazoned forth on our constitution, as the "inherent and natural right of *all* men," that the blacks should be under the necessity of entering into a bond with two or more freehold sureties, in the penal sum of five hundred dollars, *before* they are admitted to *acquire and possess property*, or to *pursue* and enjoy happiness? No. It is shutting, by the sanction of law, the very portals of happiness! It is casting them friendless and houseless into the open arms of poverty, and virtually *compelling* them to roam like vagabonds over the land, for they cannot obtain a residence until they have given their bonds with competent sureties, which it is very seldom they will be able to do. Surely we cannot have the enjoyment of liberty and freedom, unless we have the privilege of going into any community we please, and of "pursuing after and acquiring happiness," by the same means, and on the same terms, as other people. Our constitution does not say, *all men of a certain color* are entitled to certain rights, and are born free and independent. But the expression is unlimited, and is applicable to *every* color, clime and condition. **ALL** men are so born, and have the *unalienable* rights of life and liberty — the pursuit of happiness, and the acquisition and possession of wealth. According to our constitution, they have all the same rights which others enjoy, the same right of emigrating when and where they please, and the same right to *acquire and possess property*. Yet, as we have seen, our statutory enactments virtually deprive them of those rights. They make a certificate of freedom and a *penal bond*, not *moral worth* and intelligence, requisites of citizenship. They require a penal bond of five hundred dollars, with two or more freehold sureties, that

they will never offend against the law, — and that, in spite of the infirmities of age and the pressure of disease, or casualties, they should be able to support themselves. Few amongst the whites would be able to obtain sureties on such conditions, and much less the blacks, who are strangers, and penniless, and against whose race there exists a general prejudice. As if to complete the disabilities of the blacks, and to render their lot insupportable in Ohio, in the 3d section we find all white persons forbid hiring or harboring the blacks, unless they have complied with the above mentioned requisitions of the statutes. This enactment cuts off the last hope of the refugee from southern oppression. By it he is denied the poor privilege of working for his daily bread, and the white who extends to him the common rites of hospitality, or performs the duties of christian charity, is liable to a prosecution for *harboring* him, unless he has the requisite securities for his good behaviour and support. Can there be a more flagrant and unjustifiable violation of “natural, inherent rights,” than is contained in the foregoing acts of our state legislature, or one more opposed to the spirit of our constitution?

Let us now look at the 4th section of this law. The former *sections* have carefully guarded the avenues through which the blacks could obtain wealth, with a vigilance worthy of a better cause. But, suppose from a fortunate occurrence of favorable circumstances, they have been able to acquire property and a comfortable subsistence, this section opens a wide door for him to be deprived of it, by every unprincipled knave. It declares, that “no black or mulatto person or persons shall hereafter be sworn, or permitted to give evidence, in any court of record or elsewhere in this State, in any case depending, or matter of controversy, when either party is a white.” The unconstitutionality of this law must be apparent to every individual, as soon as he turns to our state constitution, and reads in the 7th section, 8th article, these words: “That all courts shall be open, and *every person*, for any injury done him, in his lands, goods, person, or reputation, shall have remedy by the

due course of law, and right and justice administered without *denial* or *delay*." But of what avail is this to the black? His property may be taken away, his person assailed by the hand of violence, and his reputation blasted by the foul breath of calumny; and unless he can produce a *white* witness, provided his injurer is white, he can have no redress. Is not this a palpable violation of our constitution?

Before leaving this subject, your committee wish to take another view of this law, which will show its complete inconsistency with the fundamental principles of our government. It is stated, in the 2d section, 4th article of the constitution of the United States, that "the citizens of *each* State shall be entitled to *all* the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." Who citizens are, is a question which admits of some doubt. Neither the constitution of the United States, nor that of Ohio, clearly defines. But the constitution of the United States in apportioning representative and direct taxes, says it shall be "according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding the whole number of *free* persons including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons." From this, and the fact that *freemen* are considered citizens in all other countries, it appears that all *free* persons born in and residents of the United States, with the exception of Indians not taxed, are citizens, and as such are entitled, in every State, to all the privileges and immunities of citizens of these States,—and inasmuch as no State can pass any law, in contravention of the laws of the United States, which shall be binding upon any individual; we hence infer that those enactments in the Ohio legislature imposing disabilities upon free blacks, emigrating from other States, are *entirely unconstitutional*.

There is another law bearing date 1831, which your committee will briefly notice. In the 25th section, 8th article, of our State constitution, we find it declared, "that no laws shall be passed to prevent the poor of the several townships and counties in this State from an *equal* par-

participation in the schools, academies, colleges, and universities in this State, which are endowed, in whole or in part, from the revenue arising from donations made by the United States, for the support of colleges and schools, and the doors of said schools, academies, and universities *shall be open* for the reception of scholars, students, and teachers of *every grade*, without *any distinction or preference whatever*."

From this article of our State constitution, it would appear that *all without any distinction*, were entitled to the privileges of our common schools, so far as they are endowed, in whole or in part, by the revenue arising from donations by the United States. But notwithstanding this clear and unqualified declaration, and the indisputable fact of the United States having set apart the sixteenth section of land in each originally surveyed township, as a donation for the express purpose of endowing and supporting common schools: yet, when we turn to the statute book, we find that colored children are excluded. We find it enacted, "That when any appropriation shall be made by the directors of any school district from its treasury thereof for the payment of a teacher, the school in such district shall be open to all the *white* children residing therein," etc.

Is this statute unconstitutional, or is it not?

Your committee will spend no further time in examining "the laws of Ohio," but will proceed to inquire into the *influence* of these laws. This subject will naturally fall under the cognizance of a committee appointed to inquire into the condition of the blacks, and we will therefore dismiss it with a few remarks. Their influence upon the blacks cannot be otherwise than destructive to their moral and intellectual character, and their pecuniary interests. Mental debasement — moral degradation — self disrespect — unyielding prejudice on the part of the whites, and the most distressing poverty, are the natural and necessary consequences of these pernicious, unjust, and impolitic laws. In reviewing these laws, we find all their bearings and provisions calculated to produce effects the opposite of those for which our government was

instituted, — viz: administering right and justice, and promoting industry and honesty by encouraging them ; instead of which, by refusing employment to the colored man, it drives him to resort to dishonest means for his support, and invites the unprincipled white to defraud, yea, to insult, to maim, and abuse and injure the black and mulatto with impunity.

With regard to the course which should be pursued for the repeal of these laws, your committee earnestly recommend, that petitions be presented to our State legislature, and the subject urged upon their attention, until they wipe away this foul stain from the statutes of Ohio. As much as your committee would deprecate the idea of making this a *party* question, we would yet endeavor to impress it upon the minds of all, that in choosing our legislators, we should select those who will exert their influence to remodel and purify our laws, until the last blot is washed away, and being freemen in *theory* we shall be such in *practice*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

SALE OF SLAVES. — The following description of one of these sales was given by a traveler in the West Indies: "The poor Africans who were to be sold, were exposed naked, in a large empty building like an open barn. Those who came with intention to purchase, minutely inspected them, handled them, made them jump, and stamp with their feet, and throw out their arms and their legs; turned them about; looked into their mouths and examined them in a variety of ways, to try if they were sound and healthy. All this was distressful and humiliating; but a wound still more severe was inflicted on the feelings, by some of the purchasers selecting only such as their judgment led them to prefer, regardless of the bonds of affection. The husband was taken from the wife, children from their parents, and the lover torn from his mistress. In one part of the building was seen a wife clinging to her husband; here was a sister hanging upon the neck of her brother; there stood two brothers enfolded in each other's arms, mutually bewailing their threatened separation. In other parts were friends, relatives, and companions, praying to be sold to the same master, using signs to signify that they would be content with slavery, might they but toil together. Silent tears, deep sighs, and heavy lamentations bespoke the universal suffering of these poor blacks. Never was a scene more distressful. Among these unhappy, degraded Africans, scarcely was there an unclouded countenance."—*Pinckhard's Notes.*

ANECDOTE. — A pious, worthy Episcopalian clergyman, who lately filled the office of bishop in Pennsylvania, was in early life a dissipated and immoral character. Dining one day with a party of gentlemen, they sat late

drinking wine and smoking segars ; and with a view of promoting merriment, he sent for one of his slaves, who was a pious preacher among the Methodists, and ordered him to preach a sermon to the company. The good man hesitated to obey ; but after a time of silence on his part he at length began to address them. But instead of the mirth which they anticipated, the zeal and fervor of his discourse produced a contrary effect. The solemnity of the truths which he delivered, sank deeply into the hearts of the company, and through the divine blessing, carried conviction to the mind of his master, who, from that time became of a serious character, took upon him the clerical office from an apprehension of duty, and continued an ornament to his profession. — *Negro Slavery.*

CRUEL TREATMENT. — A traveler in America relates the following. “ An opportunity once offered which gave me full demonstration of the treatment of negroes in North Carolina. I had hired a small sailing boat to convey me from the island of Mattamuskeet, on Pamlico Sound ; the wind proving adverse, with the appearance of an approaching squall, the boatman proposed to make a harbor in a small creek, which he observed led to a new negro quarter, belonging to Mr. Blount, of Newburn. This I gladly agreed to. From the head of the creek, a canal had been cut to the quarter, and from thence it was intended to communicate with the Great Alligator river. For this purpose, Mr. Blount had placed there a gang of about sixty negroes, whose daily work was in water, often up to the middle. The overseer was a man of some information, and he gave us a hearty welcome to his log house, which was a few hundred yards from the huts of the slaves. He said that no human foot had trod upon the spot till his arrival with the negroes : who had penetrated about a mile into the forest with the canal, through the haunts of wild beasts. There was an unusual number of children in proportion to the working slaves ; and on my noticing this circumstance, the overseer replied, that few of them belonged to the gang, but

were sent thither to be raised in safety. From the situation of the place, there was no chance of their escaping; and being fed at a small expense, and suffered to run wild and entirely naked, he observed that their increased value when the canal was finished would nearly defray the expense attending it. He had been two years in this desolate place, and calculated upon remaining three more before the canal would be finished. The day of our arrival happened to be on Saturday, when the week's allowance is given out. This consisted of salt herrings, of an inferior quality, and a peck of Indian corn in the cob to each, the grinding of which occupied the remainder of the day. Such was the daily food, without variation, of these wretched people. So accustomed were they to drag on this miserable existence, that I observed no repining. The overseer, however, took special care of himself. His residence was surrounded with turkeys and fowls, and his cupboard was supplied with excellent bacon. These provisions were set before us, together with a bottle of brandy. During our repast we were attended by a stout negro boy, entirely naked. The poor fellow's attention was so riveted on the victuals, that he blundered over his employment in a manner that extorted a threat of punishment from his master, who would not attribute his momentary absence of mind to the cause from which it sprung. As soon as an opportunity offered after dinner, I cut off, unobserved, a piece of bacon, and gave it to the boy, who snatched at it in an extasy, and instantly ran off to the negro huts. On his return, I questioned him what he had done with it; when the grateful and affectionate creature replied, that he had given the morsel to his poor mother, who was sick, and could not eat herrings. Hear this, ye pampered slave holders! contemplate the virtues of this boy; and while you teach your own offspring to follow his example, treat his unfortunate race as human beings!

"The day proving boisterous, we remained all night with the overseer. He described, with much apparent satisfaction, the means he employed to keep his gang under subjection, and the different modes of punishment

which he inflicted on them. Some months ago he missed some of his fowls; and being convinced they had been stolen by the slaves, he ordered them all into his presence, charged them with the robbery, and ordered them to point out the perpetrator. This not producing the desired effect, he threatened to flog them all, observing, that by so doing he should get hold of the thief without confession, and he actually put his threat into instant execution. This job he informed us, occupied the whole day, as he took his leisure, that it might be complete and serve as a warning in future. Thus suffered the whole of these innocent, miserable people, by way of punishing one who might have been guilty.”—*Janson’s Stranger in America.*

The following affecting circumstance is related in a letter from S. G., a minister of the society of Friends, addressed to his wife, from ——. “A physician, a man of a tender spirit, said that he was sent for by a slaveholder to visit one of his negroes. He found the poor patient stretched on a little straw placed on a plank, and covered by a blanket; his pulse seemed throbbing its last, and he was too much exhausted to utter any complaint. The master followed the physician, and began to curse and swear at the dying man; telling him, that as soon as he recovered he should be severely flogged, for having, by his own folly, caught his sickness by attending night meetings. He was proceeding in his violent language, when the physician checked his rage, by informing him that the poor fellow could not live many minutes. The master was silent, when the dying slave collecting all the remains of his strength, by a last effort said: ‘Glory be to thee, O my God! who art now taking my soul to thyself having redeemed it:’—and instantly expired.”—*Genius of Universal Emancipation.*

FLOGGING, &c.—A person who resided in the Island of Mauritius in 1820, saw two slaves brought out to be punished on a plantation where he was. They were

laid flat on their bellies, extended on a wooden beam, to which they were fastened, while two men held their hands and two their legs; and a driver, who struck alternately, was placed on each side of the sufferer. One hundred and twenty lashes were inflicted on each. A few days afterwards, having occasion to go to the room used as an hospital, he saw their two dead bodies laid out. Their wounds were putrid, and sent forth a rank smell. He afterwards saw them carried out, tied up in mats, to the burial ground.

In the same island, a blacksmith, named Rocan, sent a slave a journey of twenty miles, and on his return put him to blow the bellows. The slave having fasted for nearly twenty-four hours, besought his master for something to eat. Instead of supplying him with food, his master beat him with great violence, and with the blow of an iron bar laid open his skull and killed him. It was attempted to excuse this enormity, by saying that the slave died, or would have died of hunger. The same blacksmith chained one of his slaves to the bellows, and frequently struck him with the hot iron from the forge. The poor slave was covered with scars and wounds, inflicted in this manner. — *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

The Reporter of the Protector of Slaves of Berbice, from November, 1826, to November, 1827, contains the following amongst numerous other cases:—

A slave named Brandy, belonging to J. H. Rawlins, of Plantation Woodlands, having been twice flogged by the driver, complained to his master, who thereupon horse whipped, and drove him away. The slave then complained to a magistrate, who sent him back to his master for a pass. His master gave him a pass, but not till he had called the driver and had him again tied down and flogged. The result of this case may prove an encouragement to the advocates of the negro cause. The master was fined under the provisions of the Order in Council; which orders have undoubtedly been issued in consequence of the strong expression of public feeling by the people of England.

A slave boy eleven years of age, named Johnson, was hired to Mr. Sherburne, the barrack master. He presented himself to the Protector, with a chain locked round one foot, to which a weight was attached, and which he had on day and night, more than a week. He complained that the chain hurt his leg; and that Mr. Sherburne had flogged him that morning with a leathern whip.

Five slaves, the property of James Blair, Esq. complained that not having ginned the required quantity of cotton, they were, by order of the manager, R. Nicholson, stripped perfectly naked, and each received twenty-five lashes, in the presence of many women. At the same time, another slave, having objected to work on account of an injury in his eye, received first, part of his punishment of flogging, and was then fixed in the stocks by both hands and feet, and the board for the hands was drawn up so high, that he was raised from the seat, and the whole weight of his body left suspended. Whilst in this intolerable situation, he begged the overseer to intercede for him: he said, "No, the manager will be angry;" and the sufferer remained in this state sixteen minutes.—*Anti Slavery Reporter*.

ABDUHL RAHHAHMAN. Extracts from an account communicated by a gentleman of Natchez, (Miss.) of an individual who offered himself as an emigrant to the colony of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, Dec. 13th, 1827.

"I address you on behalf of an unfortunate man, a native of Africa, who has been held in slavery in this state for thirty-nine years, whom we familiarly call Prince. His real name is Abduhl Rahhahman. He was born in 1762, at Tombuctoo, where his uncle Abu Abraham, was at that time king. The father of Prince was sent out as governor to Footah Jallo. Prince, after completing his education, entered the army, and at the age of twenty-six was appointed to the command of about 2000 men, to be employed against the Hebohs, a tribe of negroes at the north of Footah Jallo. He marched into their country, succeeded in putting them to flight, laid waste their towns, and commenced a retreat. The Hebohs however,

rallied, and ambushed themselves in a narrow defile of the mountains through which Prince was to pass. He fell into the snare, and with almost his entire army, was made prisoners, and sold to the Maudingoes, and by them put on board a slave-ship. Prince has been the property of Colonel James F., of this place, during his whole captivity. Colonel F. states, that he has never known him intoxicated — never detected him in dishonesty or falsehood — nor has he known him guilty of a mean action ; and though born and raised in affluence, he has submitted to his fate without a murmur, and has been an industrious and faithful servant.

“ Dr. C., a highly distinguished physician of this place, knew Prince intimately at Teembo, in Footah Jallo. He was taken by Prince to his own house, where, during a long and painful illness of the disease peculiar to that climate, he was treated with kindness and humanity. They were recognized by each other in this country, and Prince now relates their first meeting here as deeply affecting. Exertions were made by Dr. C. to emancipate him ; from causes inexplicable to me it never was effected. Prince now has a numerous offspring. At my own request he often visits me. He is extremely modest, polite, and intelligent. I have frequently examined him in the geography of his own and contiguous countries ; their political condition, religion, &c. His knowledge is accurate to the minutest degree, so far as I have compared it with the best authorities. He was educated, and perhaps is still, nominally, a Mohammedan. I have conversed with him much upon this subject, and found him friendly disposed towards the Christian religion. He is extremely anxious for an Arabic Testament. He has heard it read in English, and admires its precepts. His principal objection is that Christians do not follow them. His reasoning upon this subject is pertinent, and to our shame, is almost unanswerable. I can only remind him of the fallibility of man, and endeavor to show him the necessity of the great atonement, and of the mercy of God through Christ to erring man.

“ The father of Prince died soon after the capture of

his son. His brother succeeded to the throne, and, I believe, is the present reigning monarch. Prince states, that he himself is entitled to the throne—but he has no wish to enter again the bustle of public life. Many years of servitude have entirely subdued his ambition for power. He will be happy—he speaks to me upon this subject with a countenance beaming with joy—if he can return to his native country, live the friend of the white man, and die in the land of his fathers.

“Col. F. is ready to give him up without an equivalent. I have explained to Prince the object of the establishment at Liberia. He speaks with gratitude of the benevolent design; and taking into view the very short distance between that place and his own country, he feels assured he can be of very great service to that colony.”

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